UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Louis L. Mann, Curtis W. Reese, *Associate Editors*

Welwyn, England's Latest Garden City

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

Thank God and Take Courage

By SYDNEY STRONG

Do We Need Unemployment Insurance?

By FELIX FLUGEL

Book Reviews

By MAYNARD SHIPLEY
JAMES A. FAIRLEY
ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The Far Eastern Situation

Events to Date and What They Mean

1. *What is the background?*

By winning the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, Japan gained the Russian sphere of influence in southern Manchuria, took over the South Manchurian Railroad and the Liaotung leased territory. During the succeeding quarter century, she has invested a billion dollars in Manchuria. About a million Japanese subjects, mostly Koreans, and some thirty million Chinese have settled in the territory. Police powers have been exercised by Japanese soldiers up to an agreed maximum of 16,000 men within the South Manchurian Railway zone, and by local Chinese authorities outside the zone.

2. *What caused the trouble?*

Nationalism has been increasing among the Chinese, expressing itself by boycotts of Japanese goods and by irritating refusals to settle local disputes. Finally, it appears that a Japanese, Captain Nakamura, was murdered by Chinese soldiers and according to the Japanese some portions of the South Manchurian Railroad were torn up.

3. *What then?*

Then came the explosion. On September 18, Japanese troops poured out of the concession in Mukden, occupied the city and gradually seized various other towns and strategic points outside the railway zone. . . The whole world was stunned. Even from Tokyo came confused reports indicating that the Japanese soldiers were out of hand. But rapidly the situation changed. Japanese public opinion rallied behind the army. China appealed to the League under Article XI of the Covenant—"Any war or threat of war . . . is a matter of concern to the whole League. . . . It is the friendly right of each member to bring to the attention of the Council any circumstance . . . which threatens to disturb international peace. . ."

4. *How did the League handle the matter?*

The Council was in session at Geneva and immediately took up the matter. On Tuesday, September 22, a cable was sent to both China and Japan asking them to refrain from warlike acts and to withdraw their troops. Official communications by the score were sent in to the Council by each of the disputants, the United States wired to Geneva her approval of League action, and both Japan and China accepted the League suggestion, Japan declaring (September 25) "outside the railway zone are only a few troops . . . the Japanese forces are being withdrawn to the fullest extent allowed by the maintenance of safety of Japanese nationals. Only 10,400 Japanese soldiers are on the ground . . . Japan has no territorial designs in Manchuria." So matters stood until the Council adjourned on September 30, having unanimously passed a

(*Continued on page* 175)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CX MONDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1932 Number 11

SPINOZA

[Born, November 24, 1632]

". . . Spinoza made no enemies except by his opinions; and even bitter opponents could not but own that he was singularly blameless and unexacting, kindly and disinterested. . . . His patience under theological ostracism was the more admirable from his sensitiveness to injustice and annoyance at pretentious stupidity. He accepted his exiled position without either boast of martyrdom or complaint of wrong; and, far from flapping his heresies in the face of others, he treated all simple and unaggressive religion with tender respect. . . . Children, young men, servants, all who stood to him in any relation of dependence, seem to have felt the charm of his affability and sweetness of temper. And of the many savants who sought him, not one had ever occasion either to complain of his reserve or be aggrieved by his independence. His 'metaphysic' might be 'strange'; but his love of truth was transparent and his candor met no resistance from pride. His equanimity, as a few vehement outbursts remain to show, was not gained without self-conquest; which, however, was affected less by the force of counter-affections, compassion, veneration, love, than by intellectual acquiescence in necessity."

—*James Martineau,* in "A Study of Spinoza."

We have waited long to comment on the Socialist vote in the late election, hoping that the initial disappointment in the result might be overcome by later reports. But these reports have been worse even than the first announcements, and we see nothing to do but confess in all honesty that the collapse of the expected support of Thomas is to us the major catastrophe of November 8th. It seems almost too much to be borne. Of course, the vote is far in excess of Thomas's vote four years ago, but this vote, it must be remembered, was a low-water mark for Socialism in our time. In earlier days, under the magnetic leadership of Debs, there were votes which ran, in one case, at least, close to a million. This year it was confidently expected that Norman Thomas would double or treble this historic total. All signs pointed to this exciting outcome. The economic depression, the wide-spread popular discontent, Thomas's superb campaign, the huge meetings which greeted him everywhere, the straw votes which in the case of the *Literary Digest,* indicated a vote of well over 3,000,000! But all signs failed, as they have been known to do before in other cases. The causes of this calamity are perhaps apparent, and may be summed up in the simple fact that the masses of the people had a single mind to smite Hoover, and turned to Roosevelt as the surest brickbat. It was a sordid motive, which made the election a disgrace, and Thomas suffered only next to the President himself. Then, too, we think this must be conceded—that Socialism has no support at all among the working people of the country. Thomas's support is prevailingly among the radical intelligentsia. This is the explanation of the high percentage revealed in the *Digest* poll. The workers are still content with one or other of the two old parties, and so long as this is true the Socialist Party will be largely academic, and the workers themselves will continue to be exploited and robbed. But enough of this rationalizing. We are sick at heart. But we shall rally—and so will the cause! The fight must be the fiercer for this defeat.

We know of nothing finer than President Hoover's attitude toward his successor, Mr. Roosevelt, since election day. One thinks immediately of Lincoln's pledge to cooperate with his successor if he were defeated in 1864, and Wilson's intention in 1916 of turning over the government to Mr. Hughes if the latter were elected in that year. But these were plans only. What these men only considered or promised, Mr. Hoover has actually done. His telegram to the Governor on election night was precise, magnanimous, and public-spirited. His speeches on his journey back to the White House were full of generous and high-minded appeal. Most notable, however, was his message inviting consultation on the international *impasse* over war debts. This not only manifested good feeling and a single interest in the public welfare, but an example of statesmanship unique in the annals of this nation. That the situation in relation to France and Germany is serious—made doubly serious by the attitude toward the debts in which both Hoover and Roosevelt share, and by the limitations placed upon executive action by the Congress—and thus calls for bold and far-sighted handling, is manifest. But not often is even so grave a problem as this met with so gallant and wise a gesture by politicians. Mr. Hoover has risen magnificently to the challenge of the hour His stature is taller at this moment than ever before. Indeed, he suddenly enjoys a degree of popular regard and honor which might have secured his re-election had

it been earlier won. Perhaps nothing could have stayed the vast sweep of revolt which overwhelmed the President, for the depression has bitten deep. But there must be many a voter who wishes now that Mr. Hoover had been retained in office. Certainly Franklin Roosevelt needs a lot of instruction in foreign affairs, and it is fortunate that Herbert Hoover is willing to give it.

The request of England and France for an extension of the moratorium on their debts, the default of Greece on its debt, the failure of Hungary, all combine to show what this country is "up against" in the matter of all those perfectly magnificent loans that we handed out so ecstatically in 1917 when we started out to save the world by killing Germans. That sordid enterprise is now reaping what it sowed, and as an incorrigibly wicked pacifist, we are glad of it. Perhaps the United States will think twice before it enters again upon the business of helping out a lot of bedraggled belligerents in a war with which we are not in any way properly concerned. But meanwhile, there remains the situation, which is what it is. Just as Germany is not going to pay any more reparations, so these Allied nations are not going to pay any more debts. Europe is bankrupt, and why not admit it! It is this fact which makes so silly the talk of Hoover, and Roosevelt, and all other responsible statesmen, Democratic and Republican alike, about our unalterable opposition to cancellation. This cancellation has already taken place. Being opposed to it is like being opposed to yesterday's and today's bad weather. It's here, that's all—and we have got to make the best of it. What we need is statesmanship which will face reality, and find a policy of action. The President has come nearer to this statesmanship than any other living man in his proposal for a linking of the debt question with the disarmament question. The debts have no monetary value, as we have said. But they have a bargaining value, for a creditor can make a lot of trouble for a debtor even when the latter has no funds. And the President is showing something like constructive genius in using this value as a weapon to force disarmament. We have no desire for hard or even shrewd bargaining with the troubled nations of the continent. But if Mr. Hoover can use this mess and muddle of the debts as a means of forcing action by the Geneva Conference, he will deserve well of posterity.

The November municipal and town elections in England showed a marked swing back to the Labor Party. If a national poll were to be held at this time, it seems probable that the Laborites would recover a considerable part of the strength which vanished a year ago. The familiar principle is at work—kick out the "ins" and push in the "outs"! We sometimes wonder if our democracies know any other principle than this ridiculous dictum. Why did the British voters, for example, turn to the Tories last fall, if so many of these voters were really Laborites all the time? Or, to put it the other way 'round, why are they turning to British Labor now, if they thought the Tories were the proper people to govern England a year ago? The same query is applicable to America. Millions of citizens who voted for Herbert Hoover in 1928 turned against him this year and voted for Governor Roosevelt. But why? If these citizens had a spoonful of brains in their craniums, they knew exactly the kind of government the Republicans stand for and exactly the kind of administration, therefore, that they would get. President Hoover is remarkable for nothing more notable than his utterly faithful devotion to the principles of his party, and his efficient presentation and prosecution of the policies dictated by those principles. If the people were anything better than fickle weathervanes, or even petulant children, they would have supported the President for doing just exactly what he said he would do and what they, by their votes, invited him to do. And so with Mr. Roosevelt! His character is perfectly well known—amiable, weak, vacillating, ambitious! His record is plain to be seen—big words, loud talk, and nothing done! Yet he was elected, and his beatific smile is more tiresome than ever. But four years from now the electorate will turn and rend him, as they have just done to Mr. Hoover, and he will have been guilty of no offense other than that of being himself. We do not wonder, in the face of this turn-and-turn-about, that serious men despair of democracy. Are we never coming to the time when citizens will give up this silly business of swinging first to one side, then to the other, and instead will mark the straight, forward-moving course, and follow it steadfastly to the end?

The awarding of the Noble Prize for Literature to JOHN GALSWORTHY is an action which has been applauded the world around. The distinguished recipient may not be as sheer a genius as either of his English predecessors on the list—Rudyard Kipling and Bernard Shaw. Artistry rather than genius is the distinctive note of Galsworthy's work. But artistry when wedded to high talent, deep conscientiousness, and a supreme capacity for taking pains, sometimes attains heights unknown to native spirits. Surely this is the case with Galsworthy's masterpiece, "The Forsyte Saga," as completed and fulfiled in "The Modern Comedy." Here is a novel in the great tradition—a work as sure of immortality as "Tom Jones," "The Heart of Midlothian," "David Copperfield," "Vanity Fair," "The Mill on the Floss," "The Return of the Native." Just as a picture of Victorian and Georgian England, this novel is incomparable; as a work of art, it measures up to the best. But Galsworthy is by no

means a writer of a single work. He has other fine novels to his credit, a long series of plays which rank him among the leading dramatists of the world, and short stories and essays which are jewels of purest water. Apart from sheer achievement, Galsworthy is notable for two qualities which are rare in our time. The first of these is beauty—a sense of the loveliness of life. Akin to this is compassion—a sense of the pity of life. These two seem utterly anti-thetical; but, like male and female, they cleave to one another, and unite to produce a spirit which cleanses and redeems. We like to think of John Galsworthy's face—so sensitive, yet so serene. Just this one man, and no other, could have written the books which bear his name. Which means that always this man has been true to his own soul, which is itself one of the most precious spiritual phenomena of our day. We are glad that such a man, already crowned with the Order of Merit, has now received the Nobel Prize.

This year, 1932, contains remarkable centenary anniversaries, but none more notable than the three hundredth birthday of BARUCH SPINOZA. In the forty-four years allotted him by fate, he won many friends but little fame. In the generations that have followed, however, his reputation has steadily spread abroad and risen higher, until today his memory is being celebrated as that of one of the bravest and noblest thinkers of all time. Lessing declared that "there is no other philosophy than that of Spinoza." Renan spoke of him as "the greatest Jew of modern times." Will Durant extolls him unreservedly as "the greatest of modern philosophers." His character was of singular beauty, as witness the touching summary of and tribute to it in James Martineau's "Study of Spinoza." The sheer lustre of his thought seemed to warm and illumine his spirit, till he was the most tolerant, patient, and discerning of men. His was a humility, a serenity, a sweetness of temper which perhaps only a love of truth as single as his can ever give. His thinking was profound, and not to be lightly interpreted by the neophyte. It began in intellectual processes which for sheer rigor and range are almost unmatched since Aristotle. They ended in a spiritual mysticism which well nigh transform his philosophy into religion. It is perhaps no accident that, alone of all philosophers, Spinoza came to be known as "the God-intoxicated man." The essential note of his teaching was unity—the unity of matter and mind, of mind and body, of body and soul, of God and nature. Nowhere could this profound observer see division. There was no room in his thought for any transcendent interpretation of reality. Life, spirit, God, if they exist at all, are immanent in the substance of all that is. It is in this concept of oneness that Spinoza, as we have always imagined, laid deep and sure the foundations of modern science. "In Spinoza," said Belfort Bax, "is contained the fullness of modern science." It is not surprising, therefore, that the greatest of contemporary scientists, Albert Einstein, himself a Jew, should find in him his master. Spinoza lives more truly today than any other thinker of the past. The modern mind is his monument, as St. Paul's is the monument of its builder, Wren.

Welwyn, England's Latest Garden City

The English temperament is one which accomplishes results in a very unostentatious manner. It does not create revolutions, wipe out old civilizations and build new ones overnight; rather, the English method is to experiment carefully with new ideas, try to use them in restricted localities, and if found feasible, adopt them gradually into their scheme of things.

It is in line with the above policy that the English people have been leaders in establishing garden cities. They have tried in various sections of the country to work out their ideals of a new society by building concrete demonstration centers. Probably one sees in the garden cities the best that can be done in a limited sphere without resorting to a violent and radical overturning of the present order.

With keen expectations I took the train from London last summer, heading for Welwyn, twenty miles from the metropolis, in Hertfordshire. What a contrast to the sight that usually greets the eye at a railroad station in an American town!

In this country a community of similar size would probably present to the visitor ugly and glaring billboards, coal and ash heaps, shanties, unkempt streets and general planlessness. If America has beauty in her towns, she usually hides it far away in the remote corners. The view from the railroad station is almost universally a depressing one, exhibiting a lack of harmony and purpose. The American city is given over to commercialism, to compromise and temporizing. Individualism runs riot, resulting in ugliness, high costs and traffic dangers. Factories often occupy the favored sites on rivers or in the centers, workers' homes are crowded into slums, or are flimsy and unsanitary. Hot dog stands crowd next to public libraries, Gothic jostles Georgian, Ionic Greek gazes across the street at Rococo apartments, and the second-hand clothing store nestles under the wing of the City Hall.

America boasts of efficiency and energy. But when one beholds the average town in this country, one wonders why some of this energy and creative genius has not expressed itself in the direction of community building.

On the other hand, the first thing that strikes the eye upon alighting from the train in Welwyn is a

beautiful, broad approach, laid out on all sides with flowers such as England only can raise in profusion. Every square foot of the entire community has been planned for present and future development. Spaciousness is everywhere, with no crowding. Unity pervades the entire community, giving a sense of fitness and purpose to the scene. There is no ugly or jarring note anywhere. In a word, the place gives the appearance of being a *home* town to which science and foresight have contributed the essential elements of purpose, goal and human value.

The offices and stores are located in a central place, conveniently related to all the dwelling houses. The factories are segregated in another section where they are somewhat removed from the homes of the people. The architecture of the town contains many types but it has all been planned so that variety creates a sense of harmony. There are sections where trees have not yet grown to maturity, which look rather bare, but there are other sections where old and beautiful trees are growing luxuriously. The village is surrounded by rolling farm land and patches of forest, which preserve its natural setting, so that the "raw" look of a new community is confined to surprisingly few spots.

The character of the houses is determined by the size and cost. There is no attempt here at providing the same housing facilities for everybody. Difference of income is allowed for and consequently some houses are more pretentious and beautiful than others. All of them have adequate gardens, and everywhere children have ample opportunity for play. The least expensive home is well-built, has solid architectural features, and is something in which every worker can take pride. Homes for the workers may be purchased on an amortization plan, and in some instances may cost as low as £1,000 or even less.

The community has grown in ten years from three hundred and twenty-eight pioneer souls to about ten thousand. It is probably the only community in the world that deserves the name of Garden City in the strict sense. There have been many attempts to build beautiful towns, but this is almost the only one which has attempted to be a self-sufficing, independent unit, which is an essential element in the accepted definition of garden city.

The growth of the community is indicated in the following set of statistics:

Welwyn Garden City, 1920 to 1930

	June, 1920	June, 1930
Number of houses completed and building	80	2,540
Estimated Population	328	8,700
Number of Industries	1	45
Rateable Value, about	£12,000	£62,000
Number of Churches	1	7
Number of Schools	0	9
Number of Clubs and Societies	0	75
Public Meeting Places	1	11
Mileage of Surfaced Roads	½	14⅓
Total Road Mileage	7	20⅓
Units of Electricity consumed per annum	0	4,000,000
Gallons of Water pumped per annum	0	200,000,000

These facts seem to indicate that the Garden City provides an opportunity which people have been longing for and which they eagerly seize.

The best and most important aspects of this model city is by no means to be found in the mere stone and mortar, as beautiful as they are. It is the social organization which is the most significant phase of life at Welwyn.

When the new home-owner comes into the community he is made officially welcome by social workers who represent the different recreational needs of people. The newcomer is invited to join a singing club, a tennis club, a bowling club, the churches, the adult education classes, and numberless other social groups. In this way every individual is integrated into the community. He not merely lives there, but he thinks there, plays there, feels himself to be a unit in the community. People are not leveled down by communism, but on the other hand, social distinctions are minimized by the well-organized social life.

The following set of statistics would seem to prove that life is more healthy in Welwyn than in the average city in England:

Health Figures

	Eng. and Wales	Welwyn
Birth Rate per 1,000	16.56	22.08
Death Rate per 1,000	12.46	5.66
Death of Infants under 1 year, per 1,000 births	69.33	20.19

The death rate of infants in this instance is striking and shows what could be done throughout the world by creating healthier and happier community life.

The economic life of the community is one of the most interesting phases of the whole plan. It was not built on the basis of communism, or even of municipal socialism. Private funds from the beginning have been employed. On the other hand, no charity has entered into the financing of the enterprise. It was planned and executed on the basis of a *socially responsible* business. Interest on investment is allowed and encouraged, but the investors are interested in *human values* rather than in real estate alone. The depression has caused some anxious moments, but the financing seems to be solid and is proceeding successfully. Home ownership is the ultimate ideal set up for everyone in Welwyn, and every possible encouragement is extended to even the poorest family in the place. This is capitalism, but a group *controlled* capitalism with social purpose. And perhaps that will be the next step for those countries which do not follow either Russia or Italy.

The various factories are also under a controlled capitalistic system. The largest single industry is shredded wheat. The company which makes this product has built a magnificent new plant with every device for mechanical efficiency and human safety. Other factories such as those manufacturing electrical or power goods exist in the community and are all segre-

gated in their proper place and are all building up model plants. Nothing ugly is allowed, and the grounds around every business building are just as beautiful and as well kept as the grounds around private houses. Each industry so far is a monopoly. This of course does not refer to England at large, but rather to the local village. There is only one bakeshop, one restaurant, one large provision store, etc. The management is private and profits are allowed, but community control insists upon the primary function of adequate and reasonable service in return for the monopoly privilege, and neighborliness preserves the human touch.

One store which I visited was particularly attractive in that canary birds in cages were singing happily all over the place, the exhibits of goods were extremely attractive, and all the workers were courteous to the nth degree.

This village may not be the final word in the evolution of our society, but it is so far in advance of anything we have in America that I cannot help wondering why we do not build dozens of communities on a similar plan. Are there not at least a million people in the United States who are tired of the sordidness, noise, and fierce competition of our present system? Would they not rejoice at the opportunity to become pioneers in building just such villages and industries? Such a program would give major relief to unemployment, would help to raze the slums, and would make life happier for multitudes of people. And all this with the minimum of social disorder. Why not?

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

Mahatma Gandhi, says the Viceroy of India, will not be released from prison "until he makes a declaration dissociating himself entirely from the civil disobedience movement." We wish all public statements were as clear as this. Gandhi is going to stay in prison!

"God may not provide all the luxuries of life, but He will provide all the necessities."—A Christian clergyman in a recent statement.

This is good news for the famine sufferers in China, and for the unemployed millions in Germany, France, England, and the United States. We wonder when God is going to begin, for time is pressing.

Celebrating Thanksgiving Day this year is like celebrating a wedding anniversary after the divorce. It is well to be reminded that "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth," but in the present situation we feel like the minister whose prayer for rain had been answered by a cloud burst—"We thank thee, Lord, but really, this is ridiculous"!

"Helsingfors, Finland, Nov. 11.—The Government Liquor Monopoly Co. reported today that liquor sales in October were only 252,000 liters, compared with 406,000 in September and 407,000 in August. The drop is attributed to increased smuggling of liquor."—New York *World-Telegram.*

Smuggling (bootlegging) in a country which has abandoned Prohibition! And this is what we are coming to in America!!

It must be great to be a delegate at a disarmament conference. Long weeks at Geneva, in the midst of lovely scenes and interesting people—and nothing at all to do!

Ironies of Circumstance: (8)—that jazz came into the world in the same age which produced the radio.

J. H. H.

Greed

I sometimes speculate, and wonder,
If brutish man
Through bestial practices, may not
At last, become brute beast complete?

If nature's laws be God's laws,
And evolution be the text of life,
Why not?

If in a hundred thousand years,
Man still progressing
As he has of late, should grow
Two front feet,
Split hoofs, a swinish snout,
And ears,
Running on all four feet,
Why shouldn't some then risen
Ourang or Chimpanzee,
Crossing the line of slow transition,
Emerging into consciousness,
Heir to man's lost estate—
Why shouldn't these new lords of earth
Wax rich and sleek, by fattening
The sunken beast,
Shut up in a pen,
And this once regal flesh,
Degraded and debased,
Be hacked upon the block,
And sold as low-grade meat,
His toughened hide
Made into saddles
(Real pig skin)
Or into purses, girdles, or belike
Stout bags,
To keep their jewels in?

J. H. OSTRANDER.

With Love Unfurled

Step out of self though others scorn
For only thus can there be born
A greater you, a braver world.
The seeds are split but flowers unfurled.
A note is muted, hear the horn!

Your heart need never be forlorn,
Though all it cherished may be hurled
Away, if you, with love unfurled,
Step out of self.

You're greater than you would have sworn.
No whit of manhood can be shorn.
And you will find your future pearled,
At one with all the good that swirled.
However much you may be torn,
Step out of self.

RALPH CHEYNEY.

Thank God and Take Courage

The Sun Is Shining

[From Our Special Correspondent]

Possibly it is the approach of Thanksgiving Day —at any rate, my little room has of late been filling with thoughts of gratitude. My experience has led me to think that the world is a pretty safe place, after all, that health is more contagious than disease. At this moment my three children are in three continents, traveling safely from land to land. This would have been impossible a century ago.

This is recess time in Geneva. We are between the acts of a human drama moving around the theme of Disarmament, in Conference, Councils, Commissions. I have been surveying the year past, assembling my ideas, and at first they have taken on the drab aspect of a "Litany." I have been tempted to chant, as a Jeremiah, "Good Lord, deliver us!" and to quote, "This is the winter of our discontent."

Instead, after a night's sleep these ideas assumed the proportions of a "Laudamus!" I ceased thinking about the clouds, the flash of lightning, the rolling of the thunder (at which man once shrieked in horror) —*I remembered the sun!*

Disarmament

What encouragement over disarmament? Peace people are whistling to keep up their courage. We are now in a period of guessing. Nobody *knows* what Germany will do, nor Japan, nor France, nor Britain, nor America, nor Russia. The last two have furnished the nearest to concrete plans; the Russian plan was dismissed with discourtesy and the American plan has received so far only lip approval. And these two great republics are like the Jews and Samaritans who had no dealings with each other. That was bad for both Jews and Samaritans (the division doubtless being fanned by the Romans in good old divide-and-rule style) for in a few years Jerusalem was burned and the people put under a foreign yoke—and the Samaritans, where are they?

Few people would be bold enough to declare that any real progress had been made for nine months except sidewise.

One must not speak lightly of the efforts made for world peace. The motives of tens of thousands working for peace are of the highest. I am bound to say, however, that what these are seeking will not be realized. I find a parallel in those hundreds of thousands who went forth a few years ago, in an enterprise "to end war." Their high motives and great sacrifice can not be questioned. Yet the youth of that generation were led astray and were mistaken—and, instead of ending war, that War is the primary cause of our trouble today, and two wars have sprung up where there was one.

Nevertheless, I have courage. In the first place, the nations of the world have never before come together in such a conference, with the distinct purpose of reducing their armaments. This is something new under the sun. The particular thing that gives courage is the fact that while the nations are making the effort, and up to the present are going at it wrong and can not succeed, on they are going. An idea is gradually making its way into the mind of humanity that will assure disarmament and peace. On the background of the mentality of practically all the thinking members of the Conference, there has been a great thought-goal, which is Total Disarmament, which none of them can get away from, and to which all turn as the final conclusion. This fact has appeared in half the speeches that have been made. This goal-idea has not been treated as a mirage, but as a final achievement. The delegates thus far have not discovered that total disarmament should be sought as *immediate*, not future.

A Great Discovery

The note of courage is the discovery that the nations cannot disarm while they continue at all to put their trust in arms. To seek to disarm, while armed, involves irreconcilable elements. This fact I have seen proved a hundred times this year, while patiently watching committees seeking to come to a common understanding. They have always failed, and always will. This is an eternal principle, governing the Peace realm. To gain peace they must first disarm. It gives courage to discover this fact, that there can be no real disarmament that is not immediate and total.

I am in Geneva this year, chiefly to observe the working of this truth and its importance, and to call attention of others to it who are seeking peace. I am confident that Total Disarmament *now* is the way. Armed nations will otherwise never be able to find peace. This discovery gives me courage.

The same nations, now in Geneva, a few years ago, clasped hands and together declared the Outlawry of War—that idea first promoted by S. O. Levinson and published by UNITY. The only way to complete this noble commitment is by the Outlawry of Arms, through Total Disarmament Now. *Outlawry of War* and *Outlawry of Arms* are two hands made for each other's clasping.

Obstacles to Peace—Take Courage

The air is so filled with obstacles to peace—craven thoughts—that one is tempted cowardly to seek a cloister. Let us, instead, frankly face a few of them, and as mountain climbers rejoice to do it.

Obstacle Number 1—Drink

Drink causes men to fight. A sober nation is less likely to war. I am a life-long prohibitionist, and rejoice that our "flag floats over a saloonless nation." I have been greatly concerned over the evidence that the tide may have turned and the people may reverse their position. Prohibition has been one bright achievement of American life to which I have been happy while in Australasia, Ceylon, Egypt, Russia, Germany, England, and other lands to point with pride—the one thing which the best people in these lands deeply hoped that America would hold, as an example and encouragement to peoples struggling with the demon of strong drink. This year in Europe has only strengthened my opinion—as I have seen the effects of drink on the people here—that America is on the right track. European custom and business have not encouraged us to hold to the path of sobriety. Parisians are reading of a family of five being carbonized in their suburb. "The father was drunk." That describes the way the Drink-Demon had been treating hundreds of thousands

of American families during the fifty years previous to Prohibition.

I confess that I have been losing courage over the situation in America, especially since I depend upon Paris and London papers for news. I read "The Scotch distillers are ready." But when I forget the clouds and the rolling of the thunder and remember that the sun is shining—I take courage!

Prohibition is in the U. S. Constitution. As my friend, Dr. Holmes, writes: "It is going to be a grand spectacle when the public wakes up after the election and discovers that the 18th Amendment is still in the Constitution." No president can take it out. It will require the vote of two-thirds of the states. It will be "an autumn day" before that is accomplished. The advocates of Prohibition are not dead. They have been asleep. Wait until they get under way! There will be a return to the process of education—which ought never to have been abandoned. That was a grievous mistake. The methods of enforcement will be changed. There have been many errors. It was a blunder to shoot people to enforce a "moral law." The people will be compelled—a good lesson—to learn that they must struggle for sobriety, as for any other virtue. Remember that Prohibition is a new thing in the history of the Anglo-Saxon, who I regret to confess has ever been a drunkard, as compared to other great peoples.

The American people will not long give up Prohibition. So, I take courage!

Obstacle Number 2—Dictatorships

The Dictator does not fit into my democratic scheme of the universe. I am so much a democrat, that one of the tenets of my theology is, that God is democratic, that equality is a cardinal "quality of the Godhead."

Yet, while I write, Rome is celebrating a decennial of Fascism, and next week Moscow will be celebrating the 13th year of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There are several little dictatorships in Europe, there may be others in the offing. It is reported that Japan may favor a dictatorship in China (Britain encouraging). India is now dwelling under what is a dictatorship, save in name. Am I not worried? No. I believe in the God of democracy.

Dictatorships have their work to perform. It should be noted that they are born because of a catastrophe—a war or a corrupt system of government—and they offer the only refuge to which the people may turn. Dictatorship introduces an order and plan of government and proceeds to work out many things for the public good. This has been true in Italy and Russia. In Italy, the people have been brought under discipline, having been guided in great public works, all of which has brought courage and ambition. In Russia, the people have been brought under discipline, led into a 5-year plan of state-building, have been fired with an idea of a social commonwealth, incorporating sharing of production and modernization of agriculture, which has been for the public good.

Do dictatorships trouble me, with my democratic soul? The reverse. I know that they come out of pain and calamity. I know that their achievements will go into the public good of mankind—and after the passing of storms which discourage some, the sun will be shining—the people of earth will be gainers.

Obstacle Number 3—Economic Chaos

And what shall I say about the economic outlook, when eminent financiers declare, "it is too much for me." At a time when the franc, the mark, the pound, the yen, the dollar threaten to act like shooting stars.

The economic depression has made people panicky. After all, this world is a pretty safe world. I know that there is much suffering—a situation I have a right to blame upon the war and the makers of war. Even so, one can not overlook the fact that the great mass of the people of earth do not suffer physically, they need not be afraid, and the crisis is chiefly in the mind. There are certain assets from the depression that should not be overlooked. The people have been compelled to face certain facts in their personal and national life to which they must attribute the "bad times." They have been compelled to become acquainted with the old-fashioned virtue of economy, almost forgotten, in the orgy of war and booms. They have been led by the depression to create certain social laws and institutions, which they should have treated long ago, but now have been created under the compulsion of necessity.

If nothing comes out of the depression but the lesson that war is the primary cause of it—it will have paid—and, that the way to avoid "bad times" is to abolish war and the instruments of war.

Obstacle Number 4—Royalties et al.

Dynasties were once the chief cause of war. The killing of an archduke was the match to start the last conflagration. Unhappily, dynasties are still a disturbing factor. What is occurring in Roumania is nauseating to one of democratic taste. War danger still lurks in court intrigues, marriage "made to strengthen frontiers," and princely visits to advance business. People still love a king and silly heads are turned by a court audience—many Americans being highly susceptible to the flattery.

But, the houses of kings have always been founded on special and inherited privilege, this privilege being sustained by the sword. Kings will never clamor for real peace. The king sought to slay the Bethlehem child of Peace.

Looking back only a hundred years, one observes that the divine right of kings, bishops also, has been revoked by the people. In every movement for liberty, royalties are the first to be attacked and to go under—not because people are bad, but because they are good. It is well to notice that the sun in his circuit round the earth is continuously greeted by one or more great republics. Why worry? This cause of war—once so potent—will pass into oblivion. Have courage.

Obstacle Number 5—Russia

On the first day of November, as I look over the world for peace signs, I confess I am greatly disturbed about Russia. Not that Russia will attack anybody, for it is generally agreed that she is too busy with her 5-year plan—an original contribution in world social construction. What disturbs me are the signs on all sides of hatred and intolerance directed against Russia, and fanned by powerful persons and newspapers. Geneva can not even telephone Moscow, because "unrecognized." Aspects like this makes peace-making at Geneva appear farcical. But my America is just as silly in this diplomacy(?). How can America have the face to pose as a peace-maker, while refusing to

speak to a neighbor that for a century or more has been conspicuously friendly, and whose government seems to be as solid as any in Europe? This aspect makes peace-making appear a mirage. The first demand in the conference of nations, for disarmament, should be, "All shake hands around!" There can not be peace in the world as long as these two republics, U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. are not in diplomatic relation. To me, it is a colossal blunder on the part of my country.

Newspapers that come daily from Paris, London, Geneva are featuring Russian "Communism" as the devil-cause of the world situation. Even so intelligent a man as E. Stanley Jones pictures China as the scene of "a race between Christianity and Communism." Why throw that scare into the public mind? Is there no race between Christianity and capitalism? Fifteen years ago, good men were turning the mind of the world against German "militarism." It is all so pathetic. Must mankind descend into hell again by the road of lies and misunderstanding? And, so, Soviet Russia is being held up as a reason why Japan should hold on to Manchuria!

The attitude of Britain, France, America toward Soviet Russia is a great obstacle to world peace. Is there any light? Where is the sun shining?

I will bear a little testimony, as I did against war during the last war; as I did for the Japanese on the Pacific Coast, when my country went wrong in the exclusion act. I am convinced that the only sensible and Christian way to treat Soviet Russia is with favors equal to all others. Further, Soviet Russia is now in process of making what will be recognized as valuable contributions to human society. If there were friendship, there would be valuable reciprocity. Racial antipathies have been abolished; also, inequalities of sex. The worker of brain and brawn has been made the cornerstone of the whole social system. There is no land where the principle of equality is so consistently applied. All are citizens. It was that way once in America when she was young. Illiteracy will be practically eliminated in twenty years. She has already completed (it is gratefully acknowledged with the help of foreign engineers) some of the world's greatest engineering projects. In a few years, she has lifted thirty or forty millions of peasants out of medieval methods of farming up to the most modern—not only using tractors, but even sowing thousands of acres with airplanes. Wooden plows will be found soon in museums only. The people are yet very poor, but as in America a hundred years ago, there are no unemployed. All this constitutes a friendly challenge to Britain and America to put their houses in order, lest they get out of date. I call this good news, and I am puzzled to understand why so many newspapers elect to give their readers evil reports instead. This attack on Soviet Russia is not fair play, and it does not spell peace.

I am a clergyman, and regret many aspects of life in Russia, that come under the head of anti-religion. But, I must be honest. The church of Christ failed to save the people of Russia from war and war's degradation, just as the churches of America, Britain and Germany failed. I can at least understand what happened in Russia, after the Revolution, because my ancestors fled to America for liberty they did not possess under king and bishop. I have learned to distinguish between names and reality. If I am any judge of Christianity and the gospels, there are many things now being done in "Godless" Russia (some given above) that bear the marks of being the fruits of real Christianity. I have followed closely the disarmament conference for nine months, and many friends (unbiased) agree with me that the most "Christian" proposals for peace—all the way from total disarmament to President Hoover's proposal—by all odds, and faithfully and courteously followed up, were those made by the delegate from Soviet Russia. I rejoice in this good news, and I marvel why so many newspapers overlook it.

Obstacle Number 6—Britain and America

While considering obstacles to peace, I am most concerned over Britain and America—my own Anglo-Saxon. My heart calls out to them to *act,* while it is their day. The eleventh hour has struck. As things stand, I lament to say, they are the greatest obstacle to world peace. It would be easy for them to *lead* in total disarmament. It cannot be done unless they do lead. German equality and French security are important but minor problems. Take from Britain arms equal to the combined equipment of France and Italy; from America all Japan's equipment—and these two would remain powerful military nations. They have key-positions, canals, military reserves and other resources. It will be a sham disarmament that does not take away the military power of Britain and America, so as to make it impossible for them to play bully or aggressor.

Twenty years ago, Japan was America's best friend. Then came a piece of snobbery, in the exclusion act. Some of "God's country" should now be enjoyed by Japanese, who would have made staunch American citizens. America should give the Philippines to their owners. Independence was promised. A big lie is growing up around that promise; and, even the Anglo-Saxon can not beat God.

The two great inter-seas canals should be given over to inter-continental control. The same should be done with Singapore, Hawaii. Malta and Cyprus should be dismantled. What right to turn the Mediterranean or the Caribbean into an Anglo-Saxon lake? Are Britain and America in China, India, the Philippines for the good of the people, or for commerce? I have been greatly troubled over Japan's aggressive invasion of China. I am also greatly troubled over the invasion of the whole world by Britain and America —by money and guns. It threatens peace and growth. I want to see the genius of the Chinese, the Indians, the Africans—my brother-men—have a full chance to grow, create and bless the world—and not be throttled by foreign domination, however benevolent and paternal. All these wonderful peoples—treated as brothers, not competitors nor servants—will bring forth in return a hundred-fold. The Anglo-Saxon makes me most anxious for the future of mankind.

But total disarmament is coming some day, sure as the sun rises. Men may enter in now, and today enjoy its achievement in lighting up the world! Why not? I confess that I have the desire of Simeon. I'd like to put my hand on the head of the child, foretold by the sages of the ages. Then, let the choir chant, "Nunc Dimittis."

SYDNEY STRONG.

American Express,
Geneva, Switzerland.

Do We Need Unemployment Insurance?

In the last half century social insurance has become, in practically all civilized countries, a recognized medium for the amelioration of catastrophes over which the individual has but little, if any, control. Sickness, old age and invalidity are inescapable; they must, and can, be insured against. In more recent years unemployment has been added to this list; it, too, must be treated drastically. Its causes are varied; any generalization is therefore likely to be out of harmony with existing facts.

The literature on the subject of unemployment abounds with observations on the effect of the substitution of machinery for labor on the number of the unemployed. The connection is often difficult to make; it involves complicated relationships between labor and capital costs. To learn more about this subject is important. But it is only one of the factors involved. The causes of the present widespread unemployment are complex and necessitate a careful analysis of the entire economic structure. The extent to which the present over-supply of labor eventually will be reabsorbed into industry is a matter of conjecture and possibly of historic analogy. Undoubtedly it is within the realm of probability that the present situation in the labor market will prove only a passing phase in a period of transition from our present disorganized economy to one highly coordinated and rationalized. Our chief aim should be to establish stability in every phase of economic endeavor, without at the same time creating a condition of economic stagnation. Improvements in technological processes must and will continue; but there is no reason to suppose that the consequences of such innovations, in so far as labor is concerned, cannot be subjected to rigid and effective control.

Changing from a relatively simple to a complex structure the economic organization of the western world has become highly sensitized to a great variety of influences; any one of these influences running amuck may seriously endanger the economic balance of the world. Just as modern machines of precision were evolved only by a slow but cumulative process of invention, so industrial organization has undergone a gradual process of adaptation to the exacting requirements of the modern world. While the fibre out of which the industrial organization has been shaped has been greatly strengthened it is still subject to strain and possible breakage. The uncertainty of the outcome of any innovation in business adds an element of speculative interest and adventure, but it may also be held responsible for the continuation of practices which should have been discarded long ago. The remedies suggested to overcome some particular economic disturbance may be definitely recognized; the road to economic balance may be indicated, but the courage and vision necessary to follow new trails often fail at the most crucial moment. In too many cases the human mind either becomes calloused and unreceptive to suggestion or goes to the other extreme of accepting without discrimination any proposal, whether reasonable or not.

To arouse public sentiment in favor of regularizing employment is far more important than to quibble about the particular type of unemployment insurance that should be adopted. The latter is a question to be answered by experts. For the present it is important that every public spirited and responsible citizen place himself on record as being in sympathy with legislation which will remove from the individual and from the community the feeling of insecurity now so widespread in every section of the country.

The issue is not one of "grocery orders vs. bread lines," nor of the relative merits of communal, state or federal unemployment relief; insinuations that the United States is moving in the direction of the dole should be relegated to the ash-heap along with many other misapprehensions. Any program seeking the introduction of unemployment insurance should include recognition of the degrading effect of public charity, finding a permanent cure for excessive unemployment, and making adequate provision for those who without contributing to their predicament are unable to obtain remunerative employment. These issues are clear-cut and challenging. They involve *diagnosis* of the economic ailment with which the world is afflicted, finding a *preventive* and finally discovering a *palliative*—the latter to be made unnecessary, if humanly possible, by elimination of unemployment.

Unemployment insurance should not be confused with public or private charity. In the case of the former we are concerned primarily with able-bodied and willing workers who, in the majority of cases, resent the thought of charity and resort to the latter only under protest and as an escape from extinction. Not to listen to the protests of those who courageously fight against enforced idleness would be to shirk an impelling responsibility; not to make some provision which will allow them to escape from the humiliation of asking for charity would be an admission of the utter failure of our economic system. Unemployment insurance has been subjected to much criticism on the grounds that it ultimately degenerates into alms-giving as in certain European countries (notably in England and in Germany), where the pressure of unemployment has been so great that the insurance reserves set aside in more prosperous years have been exhausted and of necessity had to be reinforced by heavy contributions from the state. The critics of unemployment insurance also lose sight of the fact that the business depression in Europe has assumed catastrophic proportions and that revolution and complete social disintegration are the alternatives for the dole. Threats of impending revolution should not be made the basis of an argument favoring amelioration (through unemployment insurance) of the present plight of the unemployed.

Whether we make a beginning by urging the adoption of some scheme of insurance through accumulation of reserves in good times in order the better to tide over periods of economic distress—a scheme applicable to all industries—or whether we first experiment with one industry, later with others, matters little in the long run. To quarrel over the extent of voluntary unemployment which might result from the adoption of an unemployment insurance program likewise is quite irrelevant. Nor are we concerned here with the problem of distributing the financial burden—the amount to be charged to the state, to the employer and to the employee. Again the experts must decide. What we cannot neglect to take issue with is the general principle involved and the common sense of unemployment insurance.

The efficiency of any economic system which finds

it necessary to relegate to the scrap heap, either temporarily or permanently, not merely those who for physical or mental reasons are unemployable, but also those within the classification of men *able and willing to work,* may well be questioned. If the conditions are such as to compel workmen to withdraw involuntarily from active participation in the economic life of the community long before they have reached the normal age of retirement, then society must in some way be burdened with their care.

Assuming that the estimates (official and unofficial) of the number of men and women without work are at least approximately correct, it becomes a source of grave concern to every citizen to find a remedy for unemployment and a means of breaking the social destructiveness of its impact.

FELIX FLUGEL,
Asst. Professor of Economics,
University of California.

The Study Table

"Liberalism in the South"*

Mr. Dabney's qualifications for writing on liberalism in the south are three—he is a liberal; he is a southerner by ancestry, birth, and residence; and he is a born writer, with the trained journalist's gift for succinct statement. The result is an important work which for the first time covers completely the history and contemporary status of liberal thought in the territory south of the Mason and Dixon line. Rather arbitrarily he omits Maryland from his consideration, but except for this, every part of the south is thoroughly and competently covered, with balanced judgment and unbiased clarity.

Liberalism Mr. Dabney defines as including either progressive, democratic viewpoints, or pure libertarianism; and he considers both aspects in his survey from Jefferson to the Bigotry Campaign of 1928. Although no undue optimism can be gleaned from the facts he adduces, there is undoubtedly much more ground for hope in southern industrial, religious, and social conditions than many readers uninformed on the situation might imagine. It is plain that if the south can liberate itself from the stranglehold of Fundamentalist preachers and poor white political demagogues, it carries already within itself the seeds of a great growth of truly liberal thought and action; and it has produced and is ever more largely producing the kind of men and women to carry such a movement to a happy fruition. Some of the names the author mentions are familiar ones; some are relatively unknown outside their own states or section: but it is a heartening list.

Without fear or favor, Mr. Dabney tells, first the history of southern liberalism in the early "era of Jefferson" and the later "era of Calhoun"; then the sad story of reconstruction days, brightened by the courage and forward-looking spirits of those whom no disaster could swerve or shackle; then the less familiar tale of the growth and present status of "the new south"—a fine piece of research which covers the Negro problem to the days of the Scottsboro case, the labor situation, with accounts of Gastonia, Harlan, Pineville, Marion, and other troubled areas; the grotesque story of the anti-evolution fight, with an analysis of its causes; the gradual emancipation of the southern lady and her progress toward becoming a thinking and acting human being; and liberal tendencies and obstacles in education, literature, and politics.

In the entire book I have noticed only one very minor error of fact—a remarkable tribute not only to the author, but to the publisher, a press which is the voice of perhaps the most progressive university in the south. There is an adequate index, and a very fine bibliography of books and articles. The book is indispensable to any student interested either in liberalism or in the southern states, or in both. It is itself the best evidence of the subject of which it treats. And it is eminently readable besides.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

*"Liberalism in the South." By Virginius Dabney. University of North Carolina Press, $3.50. 456 pages.

The Prospect of Civilization

"This book* is devoted," says the author, in the Preface, "to an effort to assess contemporary culture and to ascertain the prospects of our realizing a civilized order of existence." He then goes on to describe civilization "as the conquest of nature and of life, to the end that our knowledge may be used for the increase of human happiness." "Our conquest of nature is well-nigh complete." "Our conquest of man and his institutions, and the subordination of superstition to reason and knowledge, are by no means as perfect." Professor Barnes attributes our chief menace to the progress toward civilization to "the force of ideas and practices which have come down from an ancient past." "To these menaces of archaic vintage we have added capitalism and the profit system, admittedly on trial for its life at the present time." "This book summarizes some of the tasks and obligations imposed upon man if he aspires to build a humanized social order. It is a panorama of the human scene with God removed from responsibility." "It all boils down to this: Man has conquered nature; will he be able to conquer life?" "Do we, or can we ever know enough about nature and ourselves to ensure the preservation and progress of the human species?"

Thus our author sets forth the underlying thesis of his book. It is a large order, and only a man of Professor Barnes's erudition, not to say courage, would feel inclined to tackle it. Before taking up the various elements of his program of progress, it may be said without too much emphasis that the book does not quite balance itself as between our debt to the past, and the weight of the "dead hand." On the whole it may be said that the dead hand weighs more heavily on the author's mind than the contributions which the past has made to us. And yet he goes quite fully in his opening chapter into the impossibility of any progress unless the heritage of the past has been recognized and absorbed into the culture of the present to make the culture of the future.

"Religion," "Morals," "Sex Sanity," "Crime and Its Treatment," "War," "Industry," "Education," these are the main subjects to which Dr. Barnes addresses himself. One is impressed with the value of this book for a class of adults who would orient themselves in this new world which is emerging. His criticism of

*Can Man Be Civilized? Harry Elmer Barnes. Brentano's.

religion is pretty drastic, and not without some tinges of bias. Conventional religion he considers a real drag on progress. Clergymen are anathema, and worse than useless as leaders and advisers in matters of morals. Paul, and his attitude toward women, Christianity, ditto, come in for denunciation. But after all Paul was not wholly bad. He wrote the great panegyric on love, a classic which still stands not only as the great charter of women, but of all those who need a friend. It was he who said, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves," and many other passages setting forth the very characteristic virtues which Professor Barnes says must be incorporated into our new morale. One who reads Pearl Buck will conclude that hard as Paul and Christianity may have been on women, the *mores* of China have been still harder. And it was a clergyman, and a Methodist at that, and working for a great organization of "conventional" religionists who put a ring in the nose of the steel trust some years ago. It is the same Bishop McConnell who is now at the head of the Federal Council of Churches, an organization which is noted for many fine pieces of social reform work after our author's own heart.

The chapters on "Sex Sanity" and "Applying Sense and Science to Crime" are wholly admirable. Mr. Barnes puts himself in the front rank of the emancipated and civilized. The chapter on "Paying for War" is also to be highly commended. It has statistical value which makes it an exceedingly useful compendium of reference. "Industrial Decency" is the phrasing of the title of the chapter on the present industrial system. Our new moralists are shy of the use of the word "morality," or any of the traditional words to describe the virtues. So "decency" is preferred to justice, etc. But where could they find a better list of virtues, the very virtues they would inculcate by decency than in the writings of poor old Paul. It must be said perhaps that in his survey and prognosis of the industrial scene Professor Barnes has not given us much that other writers are not giving us. It is good for all that.

"Civilized Drinking" labors a bit heavily. The aesthetic taste (of liquor), with the accompanying heightened emotions, and the resulting "release," are extolled. In another connection the author makes a slighting reference to hymn-singing. One wonders what sort of essay a historical sociologist like Profesor Barnes would make of a comparison between the sociological value of the hymn singing of the Wesleyan cohorts as contrasted with the drinking habits of the same people before their conversion to conventional religion.

The last chapter in the book, "Education for a Doubting Age," well summarizes the author's general attitude toward the present situation. After thorough criticism of much of that going on in school and college, he says:

> This is the essence of the case for education in relation to social progress, namely, that we have our choice between: (1) reactionary domination, which means an arrested civilization and ultimate extinction; or, (2) social change, driven either by indignation and emotional revelation, or by sound conviction and scientific information.

He points out how every advance great or small has been feared and resisted, and goes on to give in some detail the educational program which he believes would help to ease the transition from the conventional and archaic to a safe and confident orientation of the student into his new world. One misses in his outline any reference to philosophy as a study. And yet one wonders if Professor Barnes has not omitted the most fundamental of all considerations, *What is Man?*

JAMES A. FAIRLEY.

Plays by College Students*

Students of Mt. Holyoke College have produced a book of really remarkable plays. It ought to do something to correct the impression that American college students, unlike those of other countries, care only for amusement, and take no interest in the deeper questions. At least, it proves that there are exceptions.

"The Vest Pocket Standby," by Eleanore Price, is an amusing pacifist drama. It turns the laugh on the militarists; and a laugh is sometimes more effective than an argument. "The Bowl of Rice," by Anita Young, is another peace play, in a weird and terrible Chinese setting. "The Three Wise Men and the Star," written by Maxine McBride and Professor Jeannette Marks in collaboration, represents the Christmas celebration in an English country church in the Fourteenth Century, with a dramatic representation of the Magi and their gifts, comments by the audience while waiting for the play, a collection by friars, chanting by a group of nuns, etc.—highly picturesque, and full of food for thought.

"Bridges," by Viola Jordan, is perhaps the most powerful play of the four. It is in two parts. In the first, a prince of Israel wishes to marry a beautiful Moabitess, but is convinced by the prophet, Nehemiah, that it is his duty to give her up. The two are left broken-hearted. In the second part, David Straus, a high-minded and poetic young Jew, is engaged to an American girl, Lee Andrews. His mother fiercely opposes his marrying a Gentile. His sister, Rhea, sides with the lovers. The scene is in Brooklyn. Lee is waiting at the gate of the factory where she works, for David to walk home with her on his way back from making repairs on the Brooklyn Bridge. It is dangerous work, but she says, "I think it's wonderful to be doing a real job, like that on the bridge. It takes nerve." As she chats with her fellow workers and the passersby, her character and various aspects of the labor question are brought out.

The mother sends an eloquent rabbi to talk to David. He tells him loyal Jews are building a bridge over which their people will return to glory in Jerusalem. They must marry only Jewesses:

> Dr. Bashlow: It is like that bridge over there. No one bolt can fail to do its duty, because if it were to fail, in time that mammoth body would no longer be able to arch itself over the river.
>
> David: I been feeling like I was doing something big in keepin' that bridge in repair.
>
> Dr. Bashlow: You can build your share of that greater bridge which men of your race have been strengthening for generations. They have not failed, and they are looking to you to do your share. They are your people, David.

David is almost persuaded that his duty is to renounce happiness for something greater. But Lee comes to the rescue:

> Lee: Wait a minute! Get this straight, all of you! I want you to know there's another bridge being built. But its a lot different from yours, see? Yours is just for your kind, and you'd keep all the rest of the world off of it. That way

*"Playshop Laboratory Plays." Published by the Playshop Laboratory, Department of English Literature and Drama, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. $1.35.

it's no bridge at all. You think anybody stands up there on Brooklyn Bridge and says, "You can't come over this because you ain't a Jew"? No, they don't. Everybody uses it. Jew, Gentile, Chinaman. They all got a right to use it. Well, that other bridge is gonna be like that. I say "gonna be" because it is really just gettin' started down here in these dirty streets we have to live in, and in the factories, and in such gangs of men as the one Dave works in. It ain't awful strong yet, but it's gettin' foundations now. And the foundations under your old bridge is crumblin'. Ain't you got eyes to see that people like Dave and Rhea ain't goin' to bolster and patch up old bridges much longer? They're buildin' new bridges that lead somewhere people care about goin' to. What you got to say to that?

Rhea: There ain't nothin' to say, Lee.

Lee: But I got fairness in me, and I ain't afraid to let Dave make his own decisions. That other bridge needs Dave to help, but if he don't think he can help, I'll have to do without him. I love you, Dave, you know that; but if you want it that way, I got strength to give you up. Your Ma ain't the only one has got principles to live up to.

Mrs. Straus: David, will you let this Shiksah steal comfort from a mother's heart?

Lee: No, Mrs. Straus, I don't want to steal nothin' from nobody. But there's some of us care an awful lot about that other bridge, even if we ain't preachin' about it. Dave, I said a bridge that's being built for everyone, that the centuries ain't gonna make old, that ain't being kept for the advantage of just one people.

David: I see.

Lee (pointing to Brooklyn Bridge): And it won't be so different from that bridge, neither, only, when it comes, more beautiful.

The call of the greater bridge prevails. The stage setting shows the outline of Brooklyn Bridge on the horizon, and the other, loftier bridge spanning the whole sky.

The book is beautifully gotten up. The Introduction gives a very interesting picture of the way in which the plays are composed and produced, and of the remarkable work that the English literature and drama department of Mt. Holyoke is doing for its students:

Something of the romance of group creation goes forth with each member of the group. It will go out into the world with them. It will carry several of them into the theatre arts—perhaps one or two on to the stage. It will cause many of them to support loyally the little theatres in their churches and their home communities. Some will take a trained amateur's part in these theatres' productions; several will write for them. Others will carry much of Playshop into their coaching of high-school plays. All will appreciate more clearly what makes a play an artistic whole.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

Correspondence

The Doukhobors

I

Editor of UNITY:

A copy of your paper under date of October 31st, 1932, has been sent forward to me. I read, on the last page, an article by one Walter Siegmeister, headed "The Doukhobors—Christian Martyrs of Today."

While it is not my practice to pay very much attention to newspaper articles, yet I make an exception in this case as I deem it proper that you should be advised that the statements contained in this article are absolutely false.

I do not propose to deal at length with the Doukhobor question, but wish to relate herein the extreme difficulty that the Government of this Province has had for many years with these people. Having come to Canada, we have tried to make them appreciate that they must observe the laws of the country. If they do not like the laws of Canada, then perhaps they can go to the United States or elsewhere. It is their privilege to leave the Province at any time they wish. This statement, of course, applies to those Doukhobors, comparatively few in number, who refuse to obey our laws, and does not apply to the large percentage who make good citizens.

As to the statements in this article dealing with the treatment meted out in the penal institutions of this country to those now confined there, and especially as to the statement dealing with the manner in which the children of these unfortunate people are being looked after, I would suggest that you communicate with the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, who have taken the trouble to investigate the matter. These children are extremely happy and well cared for, and in better physical condition than they have ever been in.

J. H. PORLEY,
Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. Attorney-General.

II

Editor of UNITY:

I have no hesitation in saying, in contradiction to Walter Siegmeister, that the Doukhobors are not Christian martyrs, but ignorant fanatics. When they came to settle in Western Canada no one objected to their religious faith or denied them the right of being vegetarians. But they are not "idealists working for humanity's onward progress," but rebels in opposition to the laws of a land which gave them shelter.

In all civilized countries laws are enacted (whether righteous or otherwise is not to the point) and all citizens of said countries are held under the law, and all infringements against such laws (righteous or otherwise) are subject to penalties under such laws. If going naked in Doukhoborsia is considered decent and civilized, then nudity cannot be considered contrary to the law. But if the Canadian law considers it indecent and uncivilized for people to go in their alltogether in public places, then such nudity is a breach of such laws, and it at once comes under the penalty of such laws. And that, I understand, is what the Western Doukhobors are in prison for.

I lived among the Doukhobors in Western Canada over thirty years ago, and then they appeared like law-abiding citizens. They were big strapping, punky, inoffensive men. But they were not civilized enough to regard common decencies, and lived together like animals. And if they are not better now, then they are a menace to civilization and a clog on the wheels of progress. They cannot make the laws any more just by defying them. And as for their women and children being cruelly treated, I am in doubt, except perhaps in a few instances that have not been brought to the attention of the proper authorities. Those who have—through prejudice or otherwise—ill-treated women and children in their charge, would, if brought to light, be strictly censured and punished for such behavior. The Canadian laws do not sanction cruelty to prisoners.

The Doukhobors are welcome to their religion. And they are to be congratulated as vegetarians and pacifists, but, if they wish to live under the laws of Canada, then they must be law-abiding citizens and dress as becomes civilized people, and not run at large like naked barbarians.

Stratford, Ontario. JOHN ROWLAND.

Cannot Spare Unity

Editor of UNITY:

Dear friends of the Upper Road, enclosed is P. O. order for $1.50 to cover six months subscription to UNITY. It is all I can spare now but I can't spare UNITY these days, so shall pay for it in installments.

Anamosa, Iowa. H. A. C.

The Church and Economics

Editor of UNITY:

Enclosed you will find check for which renew my subscription to UNITY for one year. I am glad to note your increasing interest in the economic system of our country, a system which is outworn, unjust and immoral.

If the churches and institutions who are supposed to teach charity and justice do not pay attention to this condition, they are not doing their duty.

JAROSLAV PERSHAL.

Long Island, N. Y.

A Fine Number

Editor of UNITY:

My sincere thanks for the copies of UNITY of October 3rd. A fine number—but each one you publish is fine.

Lakeland, Florida. ETTA JOSEPHEAN MURFEY.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 162)

resolution looking toward the rapid peaceful withdrawal of troops and the restoration of normal relations between the countries.

5. *What happened next?*

Instead of improving, the situation rapidly became worse. Japanese airplanes bombed Chinchow on October 8, and Japan began to add "certain fundamental principles" that must be fulfilled before she would withdraw her troops. The European press began to declare that the League had failed to control a great power.

6 *What attitude did the United States take?*

Our country had been supporting the League in its efforts and on October 16, accepted the invitation of the Council (Japan dissenting) to have an observer sit at the sessions. Mr. Prentiss Gilbert, therefore, sat at the Council table until the adjournment on October 24. It was impossible to get unanimous agreement during this session because Japan refused to promise withdrawal of troops before November 16 and also insisted that the "fundamental principles," which she refused to elucidate, be accepted by China. A resolution was therefore passed 13-1, Japan dissenting, again calling on both nations to refrain from aggressive acts.

7. *Did conditions improve?*

No. They steadily got worse. A pitched battle was fought on the Nonni River, naturally a victory for the Japanese as they had complete control of the air. Tsitsihar was occupied soon after the Council reconvened on November 16, at Paris. And on November 27, a Japanese drive was started on Chinchow to put the whole of southern Manchuria under Japanese domination.

8. *Did they take Chinchow at that time?*

No. They suddenly halted the drive. Secretary Stimson publicly expressed his amazement that they should occupy Chinchow, having pledged themselves not to do so, and evidently the Japanese miliary authorities did not wish further to flout the public opinion of the world at that particular moment.

9. *What did the Council accomplish at its November session in Paris?*

More than most people expected. It appeared that the League was unwilling to take any steps except those of conciliation. If Japan wanted to defy the world, she could do so, and the nations were not ready to take any economic or military action against her. But the pressure of world public opinion was beginning to be felt. The United States had sent Ambassador Dawes to Paris to cooperate with the League. He did not sit with the Council as Gilbert had done, but our Government made it evident, through him, that we would back the League in its peace endeavors. So, on December 10, another resolution was passed unanimously, in which Japan reiterated her intentions to withdraw her troops as soon as possible, denied again any desire for land in Manchuria, and agreed to a neutral commission to investigate the whole problem.

10. *All this seemed encouraging, did it not?*

Yes, but there were breakers ahead. On December 13, the Japanese Cabinet fell and a more militaristic régime came into power. National feeling was at fever heat both in China and Japan. On December 19, an ultimatum was reported from Japanese military authorities that if the Chinese did not move out of Chinchow by Christmas, the Japanese would occupy the city. The Chinese government also fell, and at a confused meeting of Chinese leaders on December 26, it was proposed to send 100,000 men to defend Chinchow. Just before Christmas the Japanese army started a big drive on bandits throughout southern Manchuria, and finally on January 2, the Japanese soldiers occupied Chinchow, and even penetrated as far south as the Great Wall. For the next month the military authorities were busy setting up local Chinese governments that would be favorable to Japan. On February 15, they drove the Chinese out of Harbin, thus getting control of all Manchuria, and on February 17, an independent state was set up in Manchuria.

11. *Has the rest of the world accepted the situation?*

No. On January 7, Secretary Stimson issued a statement that our country would not recognize as legal a treaty or situation accomplished by means of force. The Council of the League of Nations supported this position which is a new and fundamental principle of international law, and on March 11 the Assembly of the League also endorsed it.

12. *How did the trouble spread to Shanghai?*

On January 28, a crisis arose at Shanghai, resulting in a Japanese ultimatum demanding that anti-Japanese boycott associations be closed up. The Chinese agreed to this but apparently the Japanese then demanded complete withdrawal of Chinese troops. On the refusal of the Chinese to comply, there occurred one of the most savage aerial bombardments of civilian buildings that has ever been seen. This was followed by the burning of Chapei and further engagements.

13. *Was the League doing anything to prevent all this?*

Yes. The Council met on January 25, and was in almost continual session thereafter until March 3. China appealed for action under Article XV of the Covenant. This is much more drastic than Article XI which had been the basis of League action up to that time. In accordance with that appeal, Sir Eric Drummond asked the Consuls at Shanghai to form themselves into a committee of inquiry to submit frequent reports from the scene of action. They did so, the American Consul associating himself with the committee.

On February 2, the United States, supported by the Council of the League, and by Great Britain, submitted to Japan and to China five proposals for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. China accepted this plan but Japan did not.

On February 17, the Council sent to Japan a sharp note, different from all the preceding ones because it was sent to Japan alone, and because it deplored Japan's breaking of the Pact of Paris and the Covenant. It appealed to Japan's honor and responsibility as a permanent member of the Council, asking her to recognize her obligations. But Japan was adamant, and on the 18th sent the Chinese generals an ultimatum that was entirely unacceptable. The Council replied by calling a special meeting of the League Assembly for March 3, the first time that the Assembly has been called upon to consider a "war" between its members.

14. *In the meantime, what was happening at Shanghai?*

The greatest battle since the World War. On February 20, Japan opened a tremendous drive with airplanes, tanks, artillery, infantry, and cavalry, expecting quickly to blast the Chinese out of their trenches, but their resistance was surprisingly strong, and up to March 1, little progress had been made although the loss of life on both sides was great. Finally, on March 2, the Japanese troops, reinforced to perhaps 70,000 or 80,000 men, well equipped with airplanes, outflanked the Chinese army and forced it to withdraw about twelve miles from Shanghai. China had amazed the world with her courageous and successful stand aginst the invader.

15. *What was world opinion on these actions?*

Naturally, the world was concerned with the breaking of the treaties. On February 24, Secretary Stimson wrote a letter to Senator Borah reiterating the policy of his note of January 7, hoping that other nations would agree to this policy, indirectly warning Japan that the breaking of the Nine Power Pact relieved our Government of its obligations not to fortify the Philippines, and condemning Japan for not using peaceful methods in seeking redress for her wrongs.

The matter of an economic boycott against Japan by members of the League, with the United States cooperating, was suggested and received some support in this country. But it quickly became evident that the great powers would not use this particular weapon. An unofficial boycott of Japanese goods cut Japanese exports to China for January 1932 to 20 per cent of what they were in January 1931, and it appears that the unofficial boycott of Japanese silk in this country is having some effect, but no figures are yet available.

16. *What did the Special League Assembly of March 3 do?*

This was an intensely dramatic occasion. About fifteen representatives of the smaller countries spoke in condemnation of the Japanese policy. Then under the leadership of Hymans of Belgium, Motta of Switzerland, and Benes of Czechoslovakia, a resolution was unanimously passed, Japan concurring, calling for the cessation of hostilities and the unconditional withdrawal of Japanese troops.

This resolution was followed by an-

other on March 11, reiterating the League's declarations all through the controversy, and emphasizing the determination of the League to stand by its legal position. It calls upon the nations to follow the example of the United States in its note of January 7 by refusing to recognize any condition or treaty brought about by methods contrary to the Pact of Paris or the Covenant of the League. It sets up a committee representing nineteen countries to oversee the actual stopping of hostilities, and the withdrawal of troops, and to start the permanent solution of the problem, reporting by May first at the latest. In the meantime, both the Council and the Assembly are technically remaining in session, ready to be convened on short notice.

17. *What does all this mean? Has the peace machinery wholly failed? Will Japan to all intents keep Manchuria? Will she actually withdraw her troops from Shanghai? Will the governments of the world really refuse to lend her money or recognize conditions in Manchuria as at present planned?*

No one knows. As this is written the terms of the formal settlement at Shanghai have not been reached, but a good many Japanese troops have been sent home and the actual fighting has ceased.

Japan is sure to find this a terribly expensive experiment. The United States is demanding payment of her loans coming due this year in gold, of which Japan has but little. For some years at least her foreign trade and finances will be adversely affected, and she has lost the good will of the entire world.

The other nations have apparently decided that the use of force or blockade against a strong power is not feasible. But if the policy announced by the United States is actually carried out and a nation is prevented from enjoying the fruits of a military victory, then every nation on earth will shortly be convinced that this method of achieving its purposes does not pay.

18. *Have any steps been taken for a permanent solution of the Manchurian situation, except the Japanese efforts to consolidate their occupation by a local independent state with officials friendly to Japan?*

Yes. The Council voted unanimously on December 10, Japan and China concurring, to send a neutral commission to Manchuria to report on conditions. The League Committee of Nineteen at Geneva retains jurisdiction, and the organized world is thus at least trying to secure the domination of peace and law.

19. *What specific services has the League rendered in this crisis?*

(a) Because China could put her case in the hands of the League she was relieved of the necessity of actually declaring war on the invading Japanese. If war had been declared it seems evident that things would be infinitely worse than they are today.

(b) Since the League took immediate jurisdiction of the case on September 19 and has never relaxed its responsibility, Japan has been forced almost continuously for seven months to try to justify her actions before the public opinion of the world. That she has defied this public opinion does not change the fact that it will be more difficult in the future for any nation to break the peace.

(c) Actually fighting on any large scale has been stopped, a subcommittee of the League is reporting on conditions at Shanghai, the McCoy Commission is on the ground in Manchuria, the Committee of Nineteen is functioning at Geneva and preparing to report the results of its studies to the whole Assembly very shortly.

20. *What are the implications for the United States?*

(a) That the threat of war anywhere in the world is of immediate and vital interest to the United States.

(b) That it is infinitely better for the United States, in trying to prevent such war, to act in cooperation with the other nations. Action alone is dangerous and ineffective. United action must be effective in the long run.

(c) That the other nations are certainly going to use the machinery of the League of Nations, simply because no other machinery exists, and it is therefore necessary that our government be ready and able to cooperate closely and publicly with the League.

(d) That the old fear that membership in the League would tend to draw us into war is false, and that we would be both safer and more effective as members of the League than we are as non-members, to say nothing of the tremendous strengthening of the peace machinery itself that would come from this step.

(e) The very fact that the sanctions of Article 16 of the Covenant have not been employed in this case has led international thinkers in Europe and the United States to closer consideration of the problem as to how the peace machinery can be improved and the prestige of the United States included.

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